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## To the Workers of all Countries!

### Capitalism is preparing for new wars.

The pathetic peace speeches of the opening session of the Washington Conference have died away. The gossip about the bombastic program, about the limitation of armaments is no longer to be heard. The Washington Conference of the world conquerors has retired to the dark chambers of the secret commissions. Now they are haggling behind the scenes over deadly weapons, territories and capitalist privileges. The public only learns of what is going on behind the scene from time to time. Whenever one of the robbers wants to limit the booty of the other, they come out into the open in order to defend their "legally obtained" rights, shouting like Billingsgate fishwives.

Although thousands of newspapers report that armaments have been restricted in Washington, the stock quotations of not one munitions factory has sunk on the stock exchanges. The sharks of world capital, the cannon and warship manufacturers, are not scared by this stammering about peace. They know their democratic and civilized governments too well to fear for one moment that Messrs. Harding, Lloyd George, Briand and Kato can decrease the profits of armament capital. They know very well that the American Republican government, the government of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, that the government of Lloyd George, the friend of Sir Basil Sacharoff, can not begin a struggle against Vickers and Armstrong. They also know that the Briand government, dependent upon the Bloc National, is at the mercy of Schneider-Creuzot. But even if the rulers of France, England, America and Japan were not so intimately connected with armament capital, how could they renounce armaments? They are not in a position to reconcile their capitalist interests in any way whatsoever. Driven on by the lust for profits, they are watching each other with the deepest mistrust, are always ready to spring like beasts fighting over a bone, at any time ready to sink their claws in the others' throats.

A limitation of armaments, not to speak of their abolition, would then be possible, if the capitalist governments were in a position to arise at a general agreement concerning the partitioning of their rule over their subject nations, which would at least create some sort of order on a capitalistic basis. The victors in the world war have laid upon Germany a burden under which the country is collapsing. In order to exact its tribute from a country on the road to inescapable bankruptcy, France maintains an army of 880,000 men, which swallows a sum of 5,000,000,000 francs per year. It has only half a billion left over for social welfare. With this army and the armies of its vassals, equipped by France—Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia—France dominates Europe. Its main rival in Europe, British imperialism, holds its own against France by the maintenance of a fleet which holds all the approaches to the states of Europe under its guns. England is attempting to strengthen its position against France by luring Italy to increase its armaments. England desires to obstruct France in the Mediterranean Sea, through which England's most important lines of communication with its Asiatic colonies pass, by means of the Italian fleet.

France demands the right of having, alongside the greatest army in the world, a second-class fleet and complete submarine equipment in order to be able to intercept England's food sup-

plies in the Atlantic Ocean in time of war. This situation in the Atlantic Ocean and in the Mediterranean, as well as upon the European continent, renders it impossible to diminish the burden of armament expenditures by an agreement upon armaments in the Pacific. In the Pacific, things are themselves extremely complicated. Japan, the young self-assertive bandit of the Far East, not only enriched itself during the war, at the cost of its allies, but added the rich province of Shantung, stolen from defenseless China, to previously annexed Manchuria and extorted a large number of coal and iron concessions. The United States of America, overflowing with capital and enriched by the war even more than Japan, is attempting to deprive Japan of its booty. It therefore demands that England abrogate its alliance with Japan and it attempts to forbid Japan to have a fleet larger than 60% of the American fleet. Not only the surprised Japanese robbers are protesting against this move. In spite of all honeyed phrases about the solidarity of the Anglo-Saxon nations, England is attempting to preserve its relation to Japan in some form or other, for the United States is England's most dangerous competitor in the world market. Should England actually terminate its alliance with Japan, should it bind itself not to build a larger fleet than America, the position of British imperialism in the council of the capitalist powers for the distribution of the world booty would be considerably weakened.

A tangle has arisen from all the differences in Europe and Asia, from all these conflicts about Germany, Turkey and China, which the victors of Versailles cannot unravel. The Washington Conference will finish nothing, even if the great capitalist powers create a paper agreement which verbally proclaim to all nations the right and expresses the desire of lightening the war burden under which the nations are staggering.

### The Danger of New Wars is not Past.

The munitions factories and the naval dockyards will not interrupt their labors. Capitalist diplomacy will not cease to forge new alliances, each one a conspiracy against peace. All capitalist governments are very much afraid of new wars. They all fear that the working masses will not let themselves be driven into a new world war for capitalist interests. This fear will continually impel the capitalist governments to new attempts to arrive at an understanding, but each attempt will end with a intensification of the international situation. Capitalism means international competition and the latter breeds new wars. If the international working-class does not unite for iron self-defense, over and above all internal differences, if it does not take the relations between the peoples of the world in its own hands, it will one day again be placed before the fact of a new world conflagration. The struggle against the capitalist policy of exploitation and war must not be postponed until the ghost of a world war again becomes a terrible reality which strangles the proletariat in its arms. The fight against the danger of new military adventures, of new deeds of violence, must now be begun in all countries with iron energy and at once.

### Against the Pillaging of Germany.

New complications are threatening in the near future in two places. In the winter and spring months of 1922,

impoverished Germany has to pay new tribute to the allies. Germany, a country in which the prices of food have doubled in the last few months, is supposed to pay the allies new billions, to ruin its industries still further. *French imperialism* understands that it is impossible, understands that Germany is at the end of its resources. But the capitalist French government which employs more than half its income to pay interest to the war profiteers does not dare to tax the propertied classes. It does not in the least intend to reduce its war expenditures which are 42 % of the remaining expenses. It has decided to cover the increasing deficit in its budget by compelling Germany to pay, at the point of the sword. *The international proletariat has no sympathy for the German bourgeoisie*, one of those principally responsible for the world war, a bourgeoisie which has built its present rule on the bones of 20,000 proletarians slaughtered in the revolution and mended it with the blood of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The international proletariat knows the misery of the towns of Northern France, devastated and burned to the ground. *But the international proletariat and above all the French working-class must realize that the allies will extort their tribute not from the German bourgeoisie, but from the German proletariat, that they will condemn the German proletariat to the life of a coolie, that through his cheap labor they will prepare competition for the workers of France, England and America and will lower their standard of living.* Therefore we say to the international proletariat, therefore we say above all to the workers of France:

"Raise today your warning voice against the preparation for the invasion of the Ruhr. Prepare for the fight against the criminal policy of the French government. Do not let yourselves be deceived through the negotiations concerning a moratorium, etc. For such measures will only postpone the crisis and in the end lead to so much the severer conflicts.

#### The Danger of a Polish Attack against Soviet Russia.

In Poland the bourgeoisie is continually showing itself more incapable of stopping the monstrous decay of finance and industry which was brought about by its military adventure against Soviet Russia. The growing economic ruin is producing an ever growing revolutionary ferment. The influence of the Communist Party is growing in spite of the raging persecutions day by day. At the same time the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie are coming to a head, for the rule of Pilsudski's military clique does not appear to the propertied classes to offer a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of the capitalist order. Harassed from the left by the growing revolutionary wave and from the right by the frightened bourgeoisie trembling for its power, the military oligarchy of Poland is preparing to proclaim its dictatorship in the interior and to drown the proletarian movement in blood, and at the same time, if it only can, to prepare for war against Soviet Russia. It is speculating upon the possibility that the French government will add further sums to the 20,000,000,000 francs that it has thrown into the jaws of Polish militarism, in order to obtain in this manner payment for its hitherto sacrifices by the setting of a White Guard government in the saddle in Russia, which would immediately begin to extort the interest on the Czarist debts out of the Russian people. The Polish government has protected itself in the event of war by an agreement with the Roumanian Bojars, and it has recently signed an agreement with the Czecho-Slovakian bourgeoisie, which assures it the free passage of munitions. These criminal plans must be opposed with all the energy at our disposal. The workers of all countries, above all those which are Poland's neighbours, must do everything in their power so that not a single railway wagon, not a single ship with war equipment enter Poland this winter and spring.

#### The Working-Class must Fight!

Workingmen and Workingwomen! Only when you oppose world capital in a determined manner, when you in the Parliaments, in your press and in your meetings educate the masses of the peoples of all countries to the threatening dangers, when you call them to fight against the new war plans will you develop and collect the power which is necessary to call a halt to the policy of armaments and the policy of preparation for a new world war. All these armament programs, all demands for the curtailment of the expenditures for war equipments, every cry for the decreasing of tax burdens are only useless words if the workers of all countries do not collect all their forces for a united front against the bourgeoisie and its policies. *Only when the workers in each country unite for a common struggle against the bourgeoisie will they be able to lay the burden of the last war upon the latter's shoulders.* Only then will they be able to call a halt to armaments, only then will they find ways and means to agree inter-

nationally for concerted reconstruction, not only of destroyed Belgium and Northern France, but also of ruined Serbia and devastated Poland and Russia. Only in so far as they turn their arms against the bourgeoisie of their own country will they be able to build an international front of the fighting proletariat. Only then will they be able to unite all the productive forces of the world for the clearing away of the ruins of the world war and for a building of a new society. As long as the workers of all countries will not understand that, so long will the world economic crisis condemn them to unemployment, will the countries of the world which used to produce raw materials and goods decay, and will the hyenas of world capital function in a world transforming itself more and more into a desert.

Down with the Washington peace comedy!

Down with new armaments!

War against the preparation for the attack of French imperialism against Germany!

War against the adventure of the Polish military oligarchy!

Long live the united front of all the proletarians of the world against the capitalist world reaction!

Long live the Communist International, the vanguard of the common international struggle of the entire proletariat!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## POLITICS

### The Political Reaktion in Bulgaria

by Christo Kabatchieff (Sofia).

The Stamboliski Government has been in power for two years and has distinguished itself in the last few months of its rule by means of two laws—a special law against the freedom of the press and another law against labor-unions and against the organization of government employees. These laws mark the reactionary policy of the government. Before we speak of these laws, we should like to consider the government's policy existing hitherto.

The Peasants' League, from which Stamboliski's government originated, was a petty-bourgeois village organization until the war. Until now it has remained the same, but the wealthier peasants who became rich during the war have obtained the chief influence and the leading role in the League. The Peasants' League made use of the dissatisfaction of the village-masses in order to obtain control of the government; but once having secured the helm it represented the interests of the village bourgeoisie and not those of the small peasants. The policy of the Peasant Government is reactionary, socially as well as politically. Its true role and that of the other "left" petty-bourgeois parties such as the Radicals and Coalition Socialists (social patriots), who collaborated in the government for some time after the war, was and still is the strengthening of the unsteady rule of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. Bulgaria's defeat in the Balkan War and, after that in the European War, compromised the old bourgeois parties and undermined the foundations of the rule of the capitalists who sought the backing of the left petty-bourgeois parties in order to deceive the masses of the people and to suppress their dissatisfaction. And in fact the "Lefts" were worthy of their role as the bourgeoisie's gendarmes—we know only too well the bloody regime of the Coalition Socialist Pastuchoff which he, as Minister of Police, instituted against the workers, small proprietors and the Communist Party.

The Stamboliski government is continuing this policy of the "left" petty-bourgeois parties and it seems as if it will carry out this policy to the end. The government marked its entry into power with the bloody suppression of the general strike of the transport workers (railwaymen, postal employees, telegraph and telephone operators) and the miners which broke out on December 24, 1919 and lasted fully two months. In order to break this heroic strike, Stamboliski's government had recourse, to the most flagrant reactionary measures—it put the railroads, the post-office and the mines under military rule, arrested thousands of strikers, maltreated them in a barbaric manner, sentenced thousands of strikers by court-martial, suppressed and later put a severe censorship on the Communist press, organized the Terror against the Communist Party and brought armed bands from the villages into the cities in order to drown in blood the resistance of the city proletariat. Thus began the regime of

Stamboliski's government which claims that it "rules through the people" and even calls itself revolutionary, because it drove out King Ferdinand and substituted King Boris in obedience to the order of the Entente General D'Espres for the purpose of saving the monarchy.

We will not recount here the history of Stamboliski's regime which is filled with oppression, violence and terror against the Communist Party. The peasant government came into power with the help of the bourgeoisie by whom it was supported because its most important historic mission was to suppress the dissatisfaction of the masses, to strangle the Communist Party and to prevent the revolutionizing of the proletariat and the poorer peasants. But the reactionary policy of the peasant government is backed not only by the Bulgarian bourgeois interests, but also by the interests of the Entente. Bulgaria is at present simply a colony of Entente imperialism which, after having fully subjugated Bulgaria both financially and economically, turned it into a bridge leading to the advancement of its imperialist policy of conquest in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, and used it as a breastplate against Soviet Russia. The Entente created the Little Entente in order to unite and arm the Danube and Balkan governments against the Russian workers' and peasants' revolution. The Entente wants to use the peoples of the Little Entente as cannon-fodder in order to achieve what Kolchak, Denikin, Wrangel and other generals in its pay could not achieve—the destruction of Soviet Russia, the hearth of the world-revolution. The Entente draw Bulgaria into the sphere of this policy. But in order to succeed in its bloody counter-revolutionary design of using the Balkan and Danube nations for its own ends, the Entente had first of all to destroy the Communist Party which stood at the head of the movement to free these nations from the yoke of their capitalists and of Entente imperialism. To this end the Entente is making use of the servile and treacherous role of the bourgeoisie in the Danube and Balkan states which, in order to maintain its rule and to save itself from the threatening revolution, sells itself to the foreign conqueror and becomes its tool in the oppression of its own people. This is particularly true of the reactionary regimes raging in Yugoslavia and Roumania.

The peasant government does not want to be outdone by the Roumanian and Yugoslavian governments. But it cannot overcome the Communist Party with one blow, because it is too weak to accomplish this. Bulgaria is a defeated country; it is ruined economically and financially; the dissatisfaction of the masses is deeply rooted, and the power of the government is weakened. The old army has been abolished and replaced by an insufficient, demoralised mercenary force and by the police. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie and its servant Stamboliski to strangle the Communist Party by means of bloody terror have failed. In spite of the terror, in spite of the fact that thousands of Communists have been maltreated and imprisoned, in spite of martial law and censorship, in spite of the shutting down of Communist clubs, in spite of the killing of many Communists and the bloody elections, the Communist Party not only retained its positions, but strengthened them considerably. In the Parliamentary elections in August 1919, it received 120,000 votes; in the municipal elections in December of the same year it increased its vote to 140,000; in the borough council elections in January 1920 (in the heat of the transport-workers' strike when the Party was outlawed) it received 160,000 votes. In the new Parliamentary elections in March 1920 the Communist Party received 180,000 votes and elected fifty representatives out of a total of 720,000 votes and 228 representatives. In order to assure its "majority" in Parliament, the peasant government annulled the mandates of nine Communist representatives. The municipal elections which took place last October showed a new increase of the Communist Party's strength in the big cities.

The Party showed its growing strength, however, not only in the elections. It continually became stronger in organization and in the mass struggles of the proletariat. The attempt of the bourgeoisie and the present government to suppress the Communist Party through Fascist methods (a band of paid tools of the bourgeoisie, under the protection of the police, raided the workers' headquarters of the party in Sofia, plundered it and reduced it to ashes) was frustrated by the resistance of the laboring masses and the Party.

These are the chief reasons why the peasant government could not put into effect the methods of the Yugoslavian and Roumanian governments. But there is another cause, and that is the growing dissatisfaction with and the opposition of the city bourgeoisie to the peasant government which cannot protect the bourgeoisie against the red peril and represents the interests

of the village bourgeoisie rather than those of the city bourgeois. The old bourgeois parties make use of the discontent of the masses with the "left" parties and the peasant government in order to strengthen themselves and to make ready to take over power, and to lead the fight against the danger of revolution and the Communist Party. The two opposite poles of the class-struggle are strengthening themselves—on one side, the upper bourgeoisie and its parties, on the other side the proletariat and the small proprietors, the Communist Party. The middle and lower bourgeois parties are continually losing in power and influence. The Peasant Party cannot escape this same fate.

As the government cannot break up the Communist Party at one blow it tries to do so by means of a series of extraordinary laws such as we have enumerated at the beginning of this article. With the press law the basic principle of the freedom of the press which is guaranteed by the constitution is set aside, and there is inaugurated a general criminal prosecution of editors and writers of political papers and the criminal and civil responsibility of the whole labor organization which publishes the papers. According to this law even the entire Central Committee of the Party can be brought to judgment for an article which may appear in the Party organ. Long prison-terms and heavy fines are provided for. The government has the right of confiscating printed matter which does not please it, as well as Communist literature coming from other countries.

The law against the government employee deprives them of the right to strike or to participate in political parties (it goes without saying that the Communist Party is meant), and to participate in demonstrations. It forbids government workers to unite into trade-unions which accept the strike as a means of combat; it places all trade-unions of government employees under the control of the courts and the police, and gives the government the right of breaking up all trade-unions which do not please it and whose leaders are brought to trial. It goes without saying that this law is directed principally against those trade-unions of governmental workers which cooperate with the Communist Party and which comprise the majority of the governmental employees.

The Communist Party is setting itself most resolutely against this new strengthening of reaction. In spite of the strict censorship which does not for a moment permit anything to be written against the new laws and which even deleted the Parliamentary speeches of the Communists against the extraordinary laws in the "Rabotnicheski Vestnik", in spite of all this, the Party has taken firm and organized action, it has mobilized its forces, and calls its organizations to stubborn combat against this last attempt of the bourgeoisie and its tool, the peasant government, to put the struggling Bulgarian proletariat into chains.

## Details on the October Revolution

by Ilya Vardin (Moscow)

### I.

Not many persons in the Occidental countries have a correct conception of the Bolsheviks' accession to power. The idea generally held is of a conspiracy, a sudden insurrection, the rapid conquest of the government.

All the lackeys of the press ranging from the Menshevik theorists to the Parisian reporters have described the October Revolution as a *coup de main* in the Bonapartist manner followed by the "usurpation of power" by a group of factionists.

These obsolete ideas have nothing in common with reality. The Communist Revolution was altogether different from all the others. The power of the Soviets was established and the Bolshevik Party became the governing party, quite openly. The Russian Communists stepped into power in open daylight.

What took place in Petrograd the night of October 24th—25th (Nov. 6th—7th) was simply the technical and legal completion of a revolution which had been going on for weeks and months. In reality it was not an insurrection. The fact is that the Soviet exercised power even beforehand. But a sanction was necessary for this fact. It was necessary to get rid of a government which existed only on paper. What we say is literally true. Let us cite some interesting facts.

### II.

Throughout nearly the entire period from the February Revolution to the one of October there existed a duality of power. The Petrograd Soviet, although led by S. R. (Social Revolutionaries), and Mensheviks, exercised various governmental functions. And the more the pressure of the masses made itself felt, the more extensively did it assume these functions.

Six weeks after the fall of Czarism, on April 20th-21st, the workers and the garrison of Petrograd under the leadership of the Bolsheviks organized their first big demonstration against the provisional government. The "revolutionary" government pretended to answer this by ordering the artillery to attack. But the Petrograd Soviet forbade General Kornilov who was at that time military commander of the garrison to let the troops intervene.

As an outcome of these demonstrations Miliukov and Gutchkov, the representatives of the bourgeoisie were forced to resign. That was the first proof of the existence of a duality of power and it was the Bolsheviks' first considerable victory.

From the very first day of the Revolution the bourgeoisie and the proletariat both strove to attain sole power. While the Bolsheviks defended the power of the Soviets the bourgeoisie called for the disruption of the Soviets and the committees.

Between June 3rd and 5th the Bolshevik Party was struck a violent blow. It almost had to resume illegal action. The influence of the Soviets which were still headed by the S. R. and Mensheviks became weaker. That of the Cadets grew. The center parties swayed and hesitated. The government coalition of Mensheviks and S. R. tried in vain to group around Kerensky's cabinet the "vital forces" of the country. The bourgeoisie, acting through the two "revolutionary" parties in power had dealt the Bolsheviks a first blow and prepared a counter-revolutionary surprise attack which would have given it the dictatorship.

It made its move on August 27th. General Kornilov threw off the mask at the General Army Headquarters and prepared to march against Petrograd. The Cadet ministers withdrew from the coalition cabinet, hoping soon to rule alone.

But the Kornilov adventure was brought to an end by the workers and soldiers with the decisive aid of the Bolsheviks. The Kornilov adventure reopened the revolutionary cycle, returned to the Bolsheviks a sort of legal existence, and most important of all, revealed to the masses the danger of the Coalition's policy.

The Soviets immediately went over to the Bolsheviks. Ten days after the Kornilov adventure the Petrograd Soviet gave a majority to the Bolsheviks. The watchword "All Power to the Soviets" assumed practical importance. In many places the Soviets were in power. The revolutionary front extended and at the same time became consolidated.

The enemy-camo was in full rout. On September 14th the provisional government called together a democratic conference, before which the question of power came up. There were 766 votes for the coalition and 688 against. A part of the S. R. and notably Chernov abstained from voting on this important question. After having thus approved the idea of coalition, the Conference excluded the Cadets from the government, thus creating an absurd situation—coalition with the bourgeoisie against the most important of the bourgeois parties.

### III.

On September 25th Kerensky formed the last cabinet with the Cadets Kishkin, Kononov, etc. That same day this cabinet was denounced by the Petrograd Soviet as being a "civil-war ministry". The Petrograd Soviet added, "We will offer no aid to this government of the all-powerful bourgeoisie and of counter-revolution". And on that same day the Petrograd Soviet chose comrade Trotsky as its president.

On October 10th Congress of Soviets of the North met in Petrograd. In its most important resolution we read, "The people can be saved only if all power is immediately handed over to the Soviets which are the agencies of the Revolution. The provisional government is leading the country to ruin. It must be done away with. The Soviets possess not only right but also might. The time for phrases is past".

The same thing was expressed at the same time in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Volga region, in short, by all the Russian workers.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets was set for October 20. The whole preparatory campaign was conducted with the watchword "All Power to the Soviets".

On October 16th the Petrograd Soviet created the Revolutionary Military Committee entrusted with the defense of the capital and the combatting of the counter-revolution. The Kerensky government was very much disturbed and it had reason to be. But the Soviet had the support of the entire working population and the garrison. The ministry was helpless against it.

### IV.

The R. M. C. set energetically to work. It established relations with all the regiments and appointed its commissaries there. It prevented the sending of 10,000 rifles to General Kaledin who had been placed at the head of the counter-revolutionary Cossacks. It prepared to defend Petrograd against a possible attack. Bit by bit it seized power.

On October 21st the members of the R. M. C. came to the general staff of the garrison to supervise its work. A colonel acting as commander of the garrison refused the right of supervision. On October 22nd the R. M. C. announced publicly that the General Staff had broken with the revolutionary regiments and with the Petrograd Soviet and that it had "become a weapon of the counter-revolution". Hereafter the R. M. C. declares itself as not being responsible for the actions of the General Staff. Furthermore, in the future "no order is valid for the garrison if it is not countersigned by the R. M. C.". The General Staff was thus left without troops.

On October 22nd the entire proletariat of Petrograd and the whole garrison declared at numerous meetings of workers and soldiers, that they were prepared to fight against the bourgeoisie for the power of the Soviets. The question of the overturn of the Kerensky government was put on the order of the day.

The all-Russian Congress was to open on October 25th. On October 23rd Trotsky, speaking before the Petrograd Soviet, said, "All Power to the Soviets, that is our aim. This aim must be achieved during the meeting of the Congress. . . . The task of the garrison and the proletariat of the capital is to furnish to the Congress the mobilized forces against which all government provocation will be shattered. And if, in the 24 or 48 hours which it still has, the government attempts to stab the Revolution in the back, we declare that the revolutionary vanguard will return blow for blow, opposing iron with steel".

Two days before the Revolution, the exact time given to the Kerensky Cabinet in which to withdraw, was solemnly made public. The party which acted in this way must have already held power in fact through the support of the immense majority of workers and soldiers.

On October 24th the government started its offensive. Kerensky declared that the Bolsheviks ought to be "immediately and decisively rendered powerless to do infamy". With this end in view the counter-revolutionary government ordered their newspapers to be suppressed, the members of the R. M. C. to be indicted for crime, the immediate arrest of all Bolsheviks implicated in the July 3th-5th insurrection (Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc.), the removal of all the Commissaries of the Petrograd Soviet. The Junkers, the shock-troops known for their patriotism, the school for under-officers, as well as various contingents of "faithful" troops were hastily called to Petrograd.

All these measures were of no avail. During the night of October 25th the government of the bourgeois and Socialist coalition was dissolved without blood-shed. The party of the poor, of the urban and rural workers took the power into its hands.

## ECONOMICS

### The Perspectives of the New Economic Policy

by E. Preobrazhenski.

Recently we have seen that the process by which a farming class was coming into existence in Russia, having been interrupted by the revolution, is developing again under the new economic system which reestablishes the freedom of enrichment and of wealth accumulation, and which signifies the exploitation of labor in the small industries of the city in those regions which have rich crops just as much as in the famished regions. Where there is a good harvest the well-to-do peasant profits more than the others because he has rented more land, has cultivated it better inasmuch as he has used this or that unploughed parcel of land belonging to those peasants who own no horses. In those regions which are suffering from famine, the poor people migrate, whereas the village usurer remains, buys up the cattle and other property for next to nothing, and will indeed have so much land in 1922 that it will by far surpass even the dreams of the village usurer of a year ago. As far as labourers are concerned, there will be plenty of them because of the withdrawal of a part of the poor peasants from the ranks



of the active farmers in the village on account of the bad harvests and the shortage of cattle. And there is already an ever increasing demand for labourers particularly in the frontier provinces.

The development of village capitalism must under the new conditions inevitably lead to a rearrangement of the village elements. First of all the number of poor villagers which was brought down to a minimum after the expropriation of the village capitalists and the levelling of the classes in the village, will increase; once again will the village be transformed from a homogeneous a heterogeneous one. It is also possible that the village capitalist will be succeeded by that part of the peasant middle class which has become very nervous over the success of the former, and which will feel that it has only reached the preparatory class in the school of wealth accumulation. On the other hand there is no doubt but that the impoverished section of the village will enter into a bitter conflict with the village usurer, in the land questions as well as in the question of the tax in kind, in the question of local taxes, and obligations, and will inevitably compel the Soviet powers to *take their side in the struggle*. Independently of this the village capitalists will come to open blows with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat inasmuch as the workers will through their tax policy hinder the speculation on the part of the village capitalist and will stand in the way of the latter's advance on capitalist lines. In the meanwhile, however, the banditry ceases and with it the last glow of the past period of open war between the village capitalist and the Soviet powers is extinguished. Instead of supporting bandits, that is, instead of supporting a hopeless bankrupt enterprise, the village capitalist will carry on a more profitable business, namely, that of accumulating wealth within those limits set by the new economic policy. But as soon as those limits prove too narrow for him, he will again resort to the "Ruschnitza", the infantry rifle with sawed-off barrel, the usual weapon of the bandit-bands in the Ukraine.

As far as the city is concerned, the "natural law of movement" in a capitalist direction, in a form ideal to the bourgeoisie and with the ideal speed of the process, assumes the following shape: the retail capitalist fortifies himself on all positions in the field of distribution, with the exception of the territory occupied by the state and the cooperatives. The result is that the retail machine takes care of the distribution of the great mass of goods consisting of the farmer's surplus after the deduction of the tax in kind and of the government and cooperative provision supply, has been made, of the entire production of the workers and of the peasant trades and of the production of the medium enterprises let to private persons and partly of the production of the government enterprises, to the extent that these reach the open market. The competition within the retail trade leads to incorporation and to the accumulation of considerable means in the hands of individuals. But as far as trading capital as a whole is concerned, it will very quickly outgrow the limits of exchange trade, will soon reach the boundaries set to it by the insufficient agricultural production and will find an outlet in industry. The field of leased enterprises will become very crowded because it yields great profits and requires no initial outlays. The number of small and middle-sized enterprises will also increase. The result will be that the trading class of the city and the middle sized capitalist enterprises will become a vital factor in economic life. Upon their efficiency will depend the supplying of millions of people as well as the wage earning of tens of thousands of workers. This class will also inevitably come into conflict with the Soviet Power inasmuch as the workers will hinder its further development by means of their tax and railroad policy, and inasmuch as they refuse to give the desired guarantees for the free exploitation of the working-class and refuse to reestablish that standard of law necessary for the free accumulation of wealth.

Foreign capital is at first drawn in as a partner to the Socialist industries on a large scale, in order to increase productive capacity on the basis of mass-production, as against the primitive condition of small scale production. But as soon as foreign capital will have established itself in certain positions and will find itself compelled to use the domestic market for making certain purchases as well as for purposes of selling a part of its products, it will open business relations with the capitalist circles and at a certain moment it will change its position. Under no circumstances will the capitalist class be able to accumulate an amount of capital stock sufficient to enable it to acquire the possession of our large industries in a short period of time. The only candidate for acquiring such possession would possibly be foreign capital, which is in a position to lend to the petty-bourgeoisie a capitalistic super-structure which in terms of production would be closely related to it. The unnatural alliance between the Socialist government and foreign capital

then comes to naught and is substituted by the natural alliance between the latter and all the bourgeois forces of Russia. Then the hour for the decisive struggle between this alliance and the Socialist government strikes and the outcome of this depends upon the relation of forces within the country and on an international scale. Let us now visualize an ideal development at the other pole, in the field of Socialist production and distribution. After the Socialist island within the country has started the economic reconstruction in the most important branches of the large industries and of the transportation system, it begins to expand at the expense of its own developed forces as well as at the expense of the petty-bourgeois class by means of a systematic taxation of the latter's income. After the Soviet government has begun the economic reconstruction on the basis of the tax in kind and on the basis of the limited exchange of goods it is then in a position, thanks to its large industries, to increase the second source which supplies the industries with agricultural products. At the same time, an ever-increasing fuel supply is created for the growing industries, through success in the field of coal, naphtha and peat production, together with the electrification of Petrograd, Moscow and other districts.

The taxation of the petty-bourgeois is increased at the same rate as these incomes grow. The tax in kind will during the first years of industrial reconstruction remain on the old basis, inasmuch as the tax, depending upon the harvest fluctuations becomes smaller. Economically this is admissible when we consider the general forward movement in the increase of peasant cultivated areas. On the other hand the tax on artisans' and peasants' production, on trade and private industry, is constantly increasing. This is also economically possible because of the growth of the productive forces and of the income in this field. At first these branches of industry will be taxed to the same extent that the Socialist industries are in supporting the Government machine, the transportation system and those enterprises which are run at loss, but which are social necessities. Then these taxes are increased so that they leave to the lessee a profit equal to the income of a good professional man, and take from the production carried out on a small scale that large part which under other circumstances would go to make up the funds of capitalistic accumulation. The result is that the surplus coming from the usurious village economy and from private industry, mainly flows into the stores of socialist accumulation. At the same time the Republic plays an ever growing part in foreign trade, and a new economic factor now looms up, that of socialist trade-profit. As agricultural reconstruction goes on, bread becomes the most important trade article. By selling grain to foreign markets and by selling foreign manufactured articles to the peasantry, the Soviet Government, besides covering all organization expenses, gains a considerable and ever increasing profit. Under the influence of the increased production in the large industries and an increased possibility of exchanging goods with the village the Soviet state acquires a steady foreign exchange, thanks to the taxes, the limited government issue of money and the extension of the exchange of goods on the open market. The Soviet Government issues money only in such amounts as will not cause a fluctuation in the value of the ruble, and will get that quantity of goods from the small industries out of circulation and into the Socialist stores of accumulation as will correspond to the amount of *capital accumulated* by the private industries. As far as the concession capital is concerned, the Soviet state, after having begun to draw foreign capital into its production, will have become convinced, during the actual reconstruction of its industries, of the economic disadvantages and of the political danger which lies at the bottom of this method of drawing in foreign capital as compared with the system of borrowing goods. The borrowing of goods which our industries underwent because of the great risk which the creditors took, will on the contrary, become the chief form of using foreign capital in Russia when the Socialist industries will have reached an advanced stage, and will serve as the strongest stimulant to our entire industrial and agricultural life, in spite of the usurious interest charges.

Due to the quick reconstruction of our large industries and the creation of favorable material conditions for the proletariat, and on the other hand, in view of the industrial crisis in foreign countries, and in view of the unemployment and the suppression of the most class-conscious ranks of the proletariat, a mass-immigration of foreign workers into Russia will begin; this will be of great aid to the growing industries which lack skilled labor. The growth of the proletariat as a class proceeds not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.

The success on the industrial field accelerates the process of socialization in the agricultural field. The Soviet economic structure is given a foundation; we see a quantitative and a qualitative growth in the Soviet economic management of the factories,

the communal agriculture of the cities grows; the gradual displacement of horse-power by tractors and electric plows increases the islands of collective agricultural management. With this slow process another but quicker one is developed. The state creates a new type of Soviet economy on the neglected land of the frontier regions, by putting tractors and foreign workers to work there. Under the influence of the new heterogeneity of the village, the communal tendency among the poor peasantry is intensified with the growing general consciousness. This takes place at a time when the proletarian power has to a greater degree than before become capable of aiding in this process by supplying the Communards with machines, artificial fertilizers and farm-labor.

Thus the proletarian foundation of the Soviet power grows from day to day. On the other hand, compared with the small industries, the large Socialist industries gain in importance in the national economy. At first the production increases in both, without coming into sharp conflict. Besides, the production of the large industries not only increases with that of the small industries, but it begins to do so at the expense of the latter. At this point the Soviet Government suspends the leasing of this or that medium enterprise, not on principle, but because the lessees are becoming too burdensome, it does not renew the contract after it terminates, and then begins to manage smaller enterprises. The retail trade which is carried on together with co-operation is to a considerable degree subordinated to large-scale production. Not only trade, but the small and medium industries are also dependent upon the state; both of them are financed by the state bank and are thus tied to the Soviet State. This process of systematically limiting and supplanting the private industries carried on on a small and medium scale, and the continual pressure upon the rich peasant, in conjunction with the high taxes etc., causes great indignation among that part of the petty-bourgeoisie, which strives to acquire the unlimited freedom of capitalistic accumulation. Then the counter-revolution of the village bourgeois breaks out and in view of the existing relations of power the rich peasantry can be completely destroyed as a class. After this the "Socialist reaction" (if we may use the term) sets in. The new economic policy is reduced to certain limits; after a period of partial denationalization a stronger nationalization begins, which nationalizes that which is beneficial to the Soviet state. The critical period has been passed. Socialism is victorious on the entire front.

## Growing Impoverishment in Czecho-Slovakia

by Ing. Stránský (Brünn).

The impoverishment of the masses is proceeding slowly, but irresistibly. The wages of the working masses have not only not remained at last year's level, in spite of the fall of the crown, but the capitalists are attempting to further reduce wages and salaries in order to be able to meet foreign competition. Since, at the present time, there are over 50,000 unemployed according to official figures, that is, 50,000 who receive unemployment support, it may be stated without overestimating that the total number of unemployed is about 150,000. As a result of this condition of affairs not only the unemployed, but the workers in all trades are compelled to accept whatever terms the employers are prepared to offer. The methods which the organized workers are employing for defense have not brought the hoped-for success. If, after the expiration of the collective agreement, wages have remained at the same level, it is due to the fact that the working conditions have been rendered worse through the lengthening of hours and the substitution of the piece-work system for pay by the hour, day or week.

The agricultural workers have been especially hard hit, since as a result of the summer drought all farm work was finished earlier than usual. As the threshing period was very short owing to the ever-increasing introduction of machinery and as in the sugar industry the labour for the year was finished from two weeks to one month earlier than in normal years, the agricultural workers were thrown out of work in the middle of November.

Wages in Czecho-Slovakia are at present between 12 and 75 crowns daily or 72 to 450 crowns monthly; salaries range between 500 and 1600 crowns per month, with the exception of the higher government officials. It may be stated that on the average salaries do not exceed 1400 crowns.

When these figures are reduced to their gold value, that is, the pre-war value of the crown, it is seen that the worker receives a daily wage of 0.67 to 4.20 crowns, or when paid by the week, 4.02 to 25.20. The salaried employees and officials receive from

28.80 to 89.60 per month which averages at about 78.40 crowns. These figures compared with those of the pre-war period are under any circumstances insufficient. It is therefore incontestable that labour's remuneration has been generally reduced.

If the depreciation of the crown is set at only 1705 %, the prices of absolutely necessary food-stuffs are as follows.

According to the official statistics (of course somewhat one-sided, but very good for purposes of comparison), the prices of foodstuffs had increased in the first half of 1921 by the following percentages over the pre-war figures: rye flour 2580 %, wheat flour 2630 %, potatoes 1160 %, beef 1160 %, milk 2810 %, sugar 1040 %, eggs 1700 %, cotton and linen goods (average) 1714 %, shoes 1768 %, hats 1500 %. In the open market the prices are much higher and range according to the commodity from 1863 % to 7333 %.

It is readily understood that under such conditions, the population has laid in little if any reserve supplies, since in times of need only cheap goods are bought which are also of inferior quality. Such clothing and footwear is very soon worn out so that to-day a large part of the population is actually going about in rags.

Those who still have at hand spare clothing from before the war are of course in a better situation; these form over 90 % of the better clothed. But these spare clothes will naturally also not last forever and if it can be so expressed, the wear coefficient of these clothes is the visible measure of the poverty of the people.

But in other circumstances are also at the root of this impoverishment.

In the first place the state itself. The major share of the foreign debts are entirely unjustified from the standpoint that Czecho-Slovakia is a member of the Entente and therefore a victorious state, a supposition which the government has actually led the people to believe. The actual debts of the state are growing from day to day. Thus, since January 1, 1921, the government debt has increased from 40 to 53 billion crowns. The government budget is far too large in comparison to the national wealth, since in the first place, the state which to-day has merely one-third of former Austria-Hungary's area and population, maintains nevertheless just as many officials (300,000) and just as large an army (300,000). Secondly, it has introduced even greater expenditures and taxes than the former dual monarchy. Thus, for instance, taxes to-day are ten to fifteen times as great as they were in old Austria.

The bourgeois German deputy, Dr. Kosika, severely attacked this waste and extravagance in the National Assembly and declared, among other charges, that taxes amount to at least 1560 crowns per year, so that a man with a wife and two small children, must pay 6000 crowns per year in taxes.

Direct taxes—land, house and inheritance—form but 15 % of the total, indirect taxes 60 %, monopoly and other state controlled sources of income 25 %, so that the greatest share of the state income is borne by the proletariat.

Another way in which the state contributes to the growing impoverishment of the masses is the confiscation of the money destined for orphan support and its transformation into government bonds. By means of various manipulations, all these bonds were then recognized by the republic with the nominal value of 75. Thus the orphans receive only 4.20 crowns in gold value for every 100 crowns paid out, which certainly does not suffice for the support of the orphans; although, if the sums for their support were paid in gold as the interest on the orphan capital fund they would more than suffice. The same holds true for the old-age pensioners who before and during the war had received sufficient income. To-day these pensioners are doomed to no other fate but miserable starvation. To-day through these manipulations of the authorities the none too extravagantly calculated pensions are to-day only worth 1/20 of their former value.

Private industry is just as impoverished. Only the state administration is well off and this latter lives in splendor. The state appears to exist only for the support of the bureaucracy.

## HELP FOR RUSSIA

### Proletarians of all Countries! To the Aid of Russia!

*Workers!* In the entire world capitalism is going over to an imminent attack against you. The more the capitalist world decays, the higher the wave of unemployment and crisis rises, which like an avalanche rolls from country to country, the more

impudently capital attacks your organizations, the louder it trumpets forth its strength and its power. Its chief heralds and troubadours, however, the ministers and presidents, the bankers and kings, are preparing a new war for humanity and are working out new armament programs. They want to plunge all the countries of the world in which will be a war more destructive, inhuman and horrible than its predecessor. It will leave no stone upon another and will kill and cripple millions of human beings—workers and peasants, the productive population of city and country.

**Comrades!** All of you, without distinction of party, must realize this. You must all understand that the only guarantee for your victory is your own strength, *your own proletarian power*. Who at the present time holds in check the insanely foolish plans of the capitalists? Who fills them with terror and fear?

**Your Soviet Russia!** For every capitalist government fears the armed Russian workers. For every capitalist government understands that Soviet Russia is to-day the chief instrument, the *main weapon in the hands of the world proletariat*.

Imagine that Soviet Russia has fallen. Then the wave of bloody reaction would overwhelm the entire world. Capitalism would then stride in a triumphal march over the skulls of the working-class. It would consolidate its positions for long, long years.

#### Therefore Help Soviet Russia!

Help its workers which have born the brunt of the combined blows of the capitalist governments.

**In Your Own Interests Hurry to the Assistance of the First Soviet State.**

The Russian workers have only now obtained the possibility of building up their economic life. Only now is production beginning to grow, are the chimneys of its factories beginning to smoke.

But the drought is clipping the wings of the Russian proletariat. In the rich Volga region the grain has been completely withered. Millions of human beings are dying under horrible tortures. Sickness and death by starvation are mowing down old and young, and little children are dying with the cry for assistance on their lips. The situation is serious. The misfortune is great.

#### Proletarians, Hurry to the Aid of Soviet Russia!

A number of workers' organizations have already donated their mite for the Russian workers and peasants. The Communists have collected 100,000,000 marks. Other workers' organizations have also aided considerably. This assistance renders possible the feeding of about 50,000 persons.

**However, That is not Enough! Hasten, Friends of the Working-Class!**

Especially you, workers of North and South America, Australia and South Africa. You have not yet gone through the bloody battle with capital. You have not yet been drawn into the final conflict. But the capitalist monster is already grasping you by the neck. It is already throwing millions of workers out of work. It is ready to deal you the final blow as well.

**Hurry to the Assistance of Your Chief Fortress Soviet Russia!**

Help it to grow strong and to consolidate. It will return your aid onehundredfold. Together, in serried battle ranks, enter the struggle against the famine in Russia.

**Long live the solidarity of the workers who will not sell their brothers in distress and misery!**

Moscow, December 4, 1921.

*The Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

## From Famine Relief to Aid for Soviet Russia

by Willy Münzenberg (Berlin).

In the last few weeks the working-class press has ceased to stress the famine relief action. However, it would be an error to believe that the proletarian relief action for the Russian workers has come to an end. On the contrary! In several countries, as Sweden, Norway, Italy and Bulgaria, the relief action has only recently commenced an extended and successful campaign. Thus, the Communist Party of Bulgaria has now sent in a draft for 1,000,000 Leva representing the total of their

collection campaign to date. The relief fund of the Czechoslovakian Party has attained the total of 1,600,000 crowns, that of the Communist Party of Norway, 120,000 crowns and the British Communist Party's fund £ 3500. The relief action is now being carried on with especial energy in the overseas countries—the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina and South Africa. The relief fund of the American "Friends of Soviet Russia" has reached total of \$ 260,000 and this committee has equipped and sent to Russia four ships with food and medicaments. The Argentine Communist Party has recently sent the Foreign Relief Committee in Berlin 1,000,000 marks as the first installment of their contribution.

The International Conference of Workers' Relief Committees, which met in Berlin on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of December, decided to continue the relief action in all countries, but justly stressed the necessity of especial concentration on the overseas countries. We have also succeeded in bringing about a revival of interest in the relief campaign in several trade-unions, particularly in England, and in a large number of bourgeois organizations. Thus, Herr von Wattenwyl, representative in Berlin of the Nansen organization, reported to the Foreign Workers' Committee that in England alone about £ 5000 are being collected daily, at the present time. Similarly, the relief is beginning to make itself felt in Russia. The purchases of the Foreign Workers' Committee, as well as the food shipments of the Nansen organization are daily arriving in the famine regions in ever-increasing quantities.

In part under the pressure of the continually expanding relief action which has taken hold of all the strata of the population in various countries, the governments are beginning to relinquish their at first extremely hostile attitude. Thus, the French government has voted 6,000,000 francs; the British government has placed medical supplies to the value of £ 250,000 at the disposal of the Soviet government; and a resolution has been introduced into the Italian Chamber of Deputies for the appropriation of 800,000 lire.

However, more important than the practical results of the relief campaign is the fact that in the course of the last few weeks the attitude of all organizations, even those of the bourgeoisie, toward Soviet Russia has undergone a change. The first appeals of the Trade Union International as well as of the bourgeois relief committees and organizations were merely appeals to the sympathy and charity of the workers and peasants. In fact, in several statements and meetings it was declared very emphatically that only the starving inhabitants and children were to be relieved and that under no circumstances were the Bolshevik regime and the ruling Soviet government in Russia to be assisted. Certain relief organizations went so far as to distribute their food and soups only to children. The poor, innocent children were to be saved; the wicked adult Bolsheviks could die of starvation. This point of view has to-day been totally changed in the majority of these organizations.

In October the Bureau of the Trade Union International pointed out in several appeals the great importance of Soviet Russia and of its continued existence for the entire proletariat of the world. It was declared with the greatest emphasis that the downfall of the present Soviet government would be followed by inconceivably disastrous consequences for the working-class in all countries and that therefore it was in the interest of every worker to aid and support Soviet Russia. All the representatives of the bourgeois and pacifist relief organizations now working in Russia cannot sufficiently stress and laud the wonderful support their activity has obtained from the Soviet government. At the International Conference of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations in Geneva on the 12th of November Nansen praised the distinguished part played by the Soviet government in the campaign for the relief of the famine-stricken. At the International Conference in Berlin on the 4th of December, 1921, in which representatives of all parties and the most diverse organizations participated, all speakers stressed the fact that almost more important than the obtaining of food for the famine-stricken was immediate assistance in the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia. The representative of the Trade Union International, Grassmann, as well as the speaker of the Quakers, the delegate of the Norwegian Workers' Party and others held that the obtaining of an unconditional resumption of commercial relations with Soviet Russia and the extension of long-term governmental credits were the chief tasks of the relief action in the future. On the 8th of December there took place in London a general conference of the English Labor Party and its Parliamentary group which unanimously decided to demand at once from the English government more effectual aid for the famine-stricken and the resumption of trade relations with Russia under the extension of special privileges. The Foreign Committee for the Organization of Workers' Relief for the

Famine-Stricken in Soviet Russia, with headquarters in Berlin, in accordance with the demand of the presidium of the general conference and following the example of the English workers, on the 12th of December addressed a letter to all working-class parties and organizations in which they were requested immediately to take action in all Parliaments similar to those of the English workers and to demand:

1. The immediate appropriation of funds for the starving workers and peasants in the famine regions.
2. The removal of all remaining obstacles to the resumption of normal economic and commercial intercourse with Russia.
3. The extension of long-term credits.
4. The recognition of the Soviet government.

The Committee concluded its call with the following lines:

"There is no doubt that a unified move in all parliaments on the part of the working-class parties, supported by the entire economic and political power of the working-class, will in no small degree hasten the slowly developing understanding between the Western states and Russia. We hope in the interest of 20,000,000 starving Russian workers and peasants, and in the interests of the entire working-class, suffering under the decay of the world's economic life, that our appeal will be heard and followed by all working-class parties."

The Communist Parties can support this move by immediately communicating with the other workers' parties and organizations in their countries and calling upon them to act in concert in the Parliaments. There is no doubt that the last few weeks and months have considerably hastened the recognition of the necessity of economic relations with Soviet Russia even in the circles of the bourgeoisie and that a determined and concerted action of the working-class can speedily bring about the necessary agreement.

## From the Exekutive

### Payment of Dues to the Comintern

The text of the following resolution is to be published in the entire party press and by all organizations. The Editor.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern in its session of December 4th, unanimously adopted the following draft of a sub-commission concerning the introduction of membership dues for the Comintern.

1— The E.C. of the Comintern decides that all members must pay an international assessment.

2— The yearly dues in each of the sections affiliated to the Communist International is to be set at the average monthly dues of the respective section.

3— The international membership assessment is to be paid quarterly in four equal instalments against the issue of a special international dues stamp. The dues stamps are to be printed by each section in conformance with a uniform design decided upon by the E.C. of the Comintern and is to be stamped with the seal of the respective section.

4— The dues stamp is to be pasted in the membership book of every affiliated party working legally. In the event of the transferring of a member from the territory of one section to that of another, the rights accorded him by the statutes of the Comintern will only be granted upon proof of the payment of the international assessment.

5— The international membership dues are to be handed over to the E.C. of the Comintern through the Central Committees of the Communist Parties. The sections are obliged to settle their accounts quarterly, before the end of the next quarter at the latest. Neither groups nor sections have the right to charge expenditures made for or in the name of the Comintern against the international assessment. The international assessment must unconditionally and under all circumstances be paid by the sections directly to the Comintern.

6— The Executive Committee of the Comintern is obliged to lay an accounting of the employment of the paid-in assessments before the World Congress, after a previous audit by the control commission.

7— The purpose of this decision is threefold. The international assessment is to assist in the covering of the from day to day increasing expenses of the central apparatus of the Comintern.

8— Through the levying of the herewith adopted international assessment the materially better situated sections are to

be enabled to support the weaker ones. This applies especially in cases of important political and economic actions.

9— The collection of the international party tax is also to aid materially in establishing a more intimate contact between the Comintern and the various sections.

The Comintern is no lax association of the affiliated sections, but the undivided party of the Communist workers of the world. This unity, of course, is in the first place expressed in its policy and in the coordination of all proletarian actions. It should, however, also be manifested by the obligation of every Communist to pay his individual membership dues to this international party. Therefore this decision is not only an organizational, but also a political measure.

*This assessment obligation goes into effect from January 1st 1922.*

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## To all the Parties Affiliated to the Communist International

The question of the transition demands of the Communist Parties had already arisen at the Third Congress of the Communist International. However, this question could only be superficially handled, for the attention of the Congress was concentrated upon those problems which had been cast up by the March Action. In the meanwhile, the question of transition demands gained in importance. With every day, the Communist Parties must more and more busy themselves with the questions brought to the front by the politics of the day. They must take a stand upon the concrete measures of the bourgeois governments and must place concrete remedial proposals before these governments. The Executive must study all these questions as a whole in order to assist the Communist Parties by enabling them to utilize their mutual experiences. It therefore requests all Communist Parties carefully to collect all their material upon their platform and demands on social policy, economic policy, taxes, judicial and constitutional questions, in short, all the material relating to our demands upon the bourgeois governments, and to send it to the Executive. We desire the sending of material referring to the past as well as present activity of the Party in this connection.

*The Secretariat of the Executive of the Communist International*  
O. W. Kuusinen. Rakosi.

Moscow, December 15, 1921.

## Important Notice.

The English edition of the "International Press Correspondence" is sent free of charge to all labour and communist organs in England, America, India, South Africa, Australia and Canada. The editors urgently request that the articles be reprinted in the labour and communist press with the least possible delay. The object of the "Correspondence" is to supply the organs of the working class movements in these countries with reliable information and with points of view which are not found in the capitalist press and news agencies.

It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence" and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.